1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

535 many come uninvited, bringing small presents to the
585 bride in order to be able to take part in the *tekeper*. This national dance of the Kûrds is very similar to the Greek *horo*. The performers join hands in a semicircle, and balance their bodies backwards and forwards, marking time, first with one foot and then with the other, accompanying their movements with wild shrieks at intervals. The step is, however, less animated and varied than that of the *horo*, and has been described as "a soft undulating movement of the whole circle in harmony with the music, like a field of corn set in motion by the wind." During its performance, the Kûrdish warrior will affect the most sentimental and romantic expression of countenance, especially when dancing with his sweetheart, which is customary at small gatherings where no strangers are present. On other occasions the men and women dance separately, though the latter even then lay aside their veils, no matter how great the crowd of spectators.

585 The music to which they dance is chiefly that of
533 the *bilwer*, a kind of reed-flute, several of which are
534 played in unison. Its tones are soft and pleasing, though somewhat monotonous, Kûrdish music being in general, unlike Turkish and Persian, characterised by regular modulations. The airs are, for the most part, grave and melancholy, and would seem to be inspired by sentiments which one would hardly expect to find in the breasts of wild clansmen whose name has become familiar to us only in connection with
535 violence and pillage.

585 At weddings, the *tekeper* is kept up for hours by

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by feasting and dancing. The wedding-dance is the sha'i, a round dance performed by a circle of men and women, sometimes including the bride or bridegroom, holding each other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The wedding-guests have sent offerings of food, and the father of the youth in return favors them with gifts of handkerchiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of the women, in the presence of so many male relatives, are unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white headcloth which can be drawn across the face as a veil. Kurdish chieftains attend weddings in their districts, whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, the latter is equipped with a present, a coin or a piece of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

585 [535] [534] [431] [292] [431] [272]

Bush festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the zhe'i, the wedding celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, rastar'i, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," chepar'i, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and rue'ik "walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowandus played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Rowandus. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that "the boy tell the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which he knew was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by grooms, a representative of the bride's house, either himself or his son, took part in the hosting of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège was completed a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[17], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and as evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Bukovac to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. Then the horse was a mare was to promote child-bearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the flat roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, cans were and harmonist, and the Sabre engl is garnished. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host - in this case the father of the bridegroom - must ensure that the meal take place in accordance with Islamic law[18]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men, who also attend to the wine and serve her[19]. No women ate herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and, at the same time, place their [illegible] on each other's shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semi-circle, and the steps take place radially, to towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semi-circle slowly move sideways. The dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[20]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[21] and from the Bakhtiari[22], where in similarity to the Greek Armenitika pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in the group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth sack, up under his waistband. The drum[23] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, bat-sized one at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and often two were used together. The clarinet[24] had a funnel-shaped bell, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played in the men of the village in the small village tea house. In the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two kerosene pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Tsiganes one evening with accompanying excellent chain lead by the sheikh's son with an American or European amateur of which the house possessed three or four. There was few interval between tunes than in European music, sometimes tunes being used instead of one another. There was no polyphony as

Fig. 10. Wedding dance. Other dancers in a row to the south of a drum and a dancer, Kakoma.

Instrumentation, so, as Stumpf[1] points out, the music is to entrain feet and hips. Other instruments include a 30–50 cm. long elephant's pipe, both single and double (S. 2280–81), referred to by Stumpf, one of which I acquired. Except 1 did not hear it played.

To ease up: At a village wedding among peasants the men's rifle companies fetching the bride at daybreak, about 6 a.m. accompanying her to the bridegroom's home and participation in the festive meal there, (At the one wedding in Kakoma I was told that 300 men were fed simultaneously.) Then a dance dance which, ending at about 4 p.m. is a sign that the festival is over, whereafter the men go home. In addition to the bride price paid by the bridegroom, his parents must, in the villages, pay for the men used to fetch the bride and for the wedding meal and dance.

The women's part runs parallel to the men's without the two groups having any contact with each other. The women invited to the party assembled in the bridegroom's home some hours before the men's cortège, including the bride's one, could be expected to come into sight on the narrow mountain track leading to the village. At the wedding I witnessed, the women were given the three-walled central room on the first floor that opened out on to the flat roof covering the entrance hall to the house,

resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a plaintive lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christians men the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to few years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the sheikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete supremacy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Moslems in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Jaj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.